2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KIN BEHAVIOR

The Group

571 602 The relationships of the ancient Papago, economic and social, were almost all within the kinship circle. "We love our relatives." "We would do anything for our relatives." "A purified scalp works for you like a relative." "We like to go to feasts *to see our relatives.*" [576 783] Address by the kinship term was the regular greeting, the regular form of applause and the final rite for receiving a neophyte back to daily life after purification. White residents, critical of Papago self-government remark: "A Papago elected to office will consider no one but his relatives."

596 609 Anciently, the only standardized relationships were within the extended family. People outside it should not be chosen as friends because they could not be relied on. Any exchange of gifts made with them should be in the nature of a trade, with full payment immediately and no credit. Even though near neighbors, they remained in an outer sphere unless they were judged desirable connections in a marriage alliance. Then they were investigated, approached and finally drawn within the active circle of kin, to have their share in companionship, service and gift exchange. 602 Within this kin circle, there were no rigid rules. Papago had no avoidances and no joking relationships. The marriage regulations were tempered with economic convenience. The particular group of kin to whom one owed constant duty was not the nearest in blood but the nearest geographically.

361 602 This pragmatic use of a kinship formula was in agreement with the Papago mode of life. Villages were scattered over an immense desert country where travel was difficult, because of the absence of drinking water and a relative removed to another village became almost inaccessible. But relatives close at hand must be a constant reliance. They were the people called on for cooperative labor in house building, ditch digging, planting, harvesting, spinning, arrow making. A family's actual existence might depend on cordial relations with them. "We would do anything for our relatives" had the connotation "And our relatives would do anything for us." The cordial relations were an economic investment

602 Such an investment was rarely made in non-relatives, since they could not be trusted to repay, having their own more intimate obligations. But a relative valued his kin status and would pay,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

clearing and felt that, thereafter, he need not share the produce of his fields with those who were using the family inheritance (I, 8, B, 1). As the village grew larger, available land was further and further away: those who took it up moved their residence and the family group became segmented. Ultimately some of the segments had to found new villages. 423

There are a few examples of men who had land but moved to get something better. These did not relinquish the old land but sent a member of the family to cultivate it so that in the end the family possessed plots at two different Fields (I, 1, A, 1; I, 3, B, 1). There was here a chance for aggrandizement and for a higher standard of wealth than the Papago usually had, but few seem to have thought of warding off starvation in this way. The close family group and the Fields which barely gave it a living, were the rule.

Occasionally families died out and then the Council, on request, assigned their land to someone else. After many deaths, the surviving members often deserted the land on the same principle that they pulled down the house, to prevent its being visited by ghosts. The ghosts would not lure away with them any but the family so it was safe for non-relatives to live there. But they must ask the family's permission and if any of them returned after a safe interval, the land must be given back. But no payment in crops was made during its use.

Since almost every one in a village was related it was rare for any one to move in who was not provided for in some family group. But if a stranger did wish to enter, and take up land, abandoned or new, he went to the Council and asked permission. The Council did not look up his references but simply tried him out. If he proved a desirable neighbor, he was allowed to stay. [609]

The Well villages were composed of groups of relatives, smaller than those at the Fields, since the Well could serve only a limited number. But often the personnel at the Well was somewhat different. The group in 1, 1 were living at the Fields of their mother's family since their father was dead but in winter they went to the Well used by the father's group as they had in his lifetime. Through this sort of shift, a family might belong to two economic groups, one functioning in the dry season, one in the wet. But some, like 1, 5, A, 1 formed a new group and did not change.

Beside the shift from Field to Wells, there were briefer migrations to food gathering grounds where families kept permanent camps. In late June and early July, every family went for three or four weeks to the foothills to gather the fruit of the giant cactus whose juice was fermented for the liquor ceremony. As a rule, each 221 423 222

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it *was* fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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576 queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste. The Papago like privacy and respect the same desire for it in others.

157 Despite their quiet and controlled behavior, there is nothing somber or
521 morose about the Desert People nor do they lack interest in what goes on around them. They are extremely observant and curious about details. With their friends they gossip constantly, but to be vindictive or to show off is not regarded with approval.

609 Though the reserve with which Papago greet a white stranger is often called
522 "stolid" by people who do not know them, facial expressions are pleasant. Among themselves they laugh at the endless joking that goes on among family members, over a comic incident, a child's improper behavior, a misstatement, or their own embarrassment. They love to sing, and, in any Papago group, smiles and laughter are constant accents to conversation.

431 Gifts serve as acknowledgment among the Desert People for their language has no phrase for "thank you"; too, they give because they like giving, and the person who does not is thought to be not quite Papago.

THE DESERT

133 It is no wonder that the Papago were not pushed off their land as were many other Indians. This area is one of the hottest and driest in the country, a land in which, with experience and hard work, a family can make a living; but it offers little in the way of surplus.

The Papago country, often referred to by its Spanish name of Papaguería, is a part of what natural scientists call the Lower Sonoran Desert, an area extending north and east to the Mongollon Rim in Arizona, westward into southeastern California, and southward along the western coast of Sonora and Sinaloa in Mexico. It is characterized by a basin and range topography, extreme drought and torrential rainfall, and great changes in daily and seasonal temperatures. A series of small ranges of rugged mountains run roughly northwest to southeast, with wide alluvial valleys marked by networks of washes or arroyos.[4] Elevation of valley floors varies from 1,400 to 2,600 feet, but the mountains on the whole are not high enough to affect rainfall except for the Baboquivaris on the eastern edge, where the tallest peak reaches 7,740 feet and seems to keep all the surrounding desert under its eye.

132 Rainfall in Papaguería is not only scarce but unpredictable. Rains come in the winter months and again from July through September. The gentle winter rains fall steadily over the whole area, sometimes for several days at a time,

4. A wash or arroyo is a stream channel which carries water only after the rains. Water rushing down the wash rapidly covers adjacent lands in what are known as flash floods.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter VI

DIVERSE CREEDS

771 IT IS difficult to make generalizations about Papago religion, for belief in and practice of the five kinds to be found on the Reservation today—aboriginal, Sonora Catholic, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Baptist—vary greatly in different districts and in succeeding generations. It is safe to say that the native religion is still important in varying degree to all the Papago except the strictest Presbyterians. However, even some of the most ardent followers of the old religion are also Sonora or Roman Catholics, and in the western districts and in many eastern villages Sonora Catholicism—combined with old Papago beliefs—holds almost complete sway. Where the Franciscans have established schools or churches, the people are beginning to become Roman Catholics; but here, too, the old beliefs are retained. In five eastern villages the Presbyterian faith has made some headway; many members of this church deny certain of the old beliefs, though they still visit the medicine men. A Baptist missionary who began to work in Sells in 1943 drew crowds of Indians to his services, but this sect is too new on the Reservation to be adequately evaluated.

THE OLD RELIGION

771 609 The Papago are polite and patient with the inquiring visitor, for they know that "white people are like that—they always want to know everything." But there is one realm of Papago life which the people will never reveal in its completeness and complexity: their old religion. The old people feel that the "Milikans" (Americans) manage their economy and dominate their politics. This they do not mind because the Milikans "help a little, though we lived a long time without them." Nor do they mind the white people visiting their Christian churches, because, after all, Christianity is a part of white culture. But they will brook no interference in the one thing the Papago have left which is their very own—their religious life. They do not wish it to become known among the white people, who would not understand it, would laugh

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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at it, would try to influence it. Such interference might upset the whole Papago scheme of things. 771 609

Fear of interference is based to some extent on experience. For many years the government tried to stop the summer rain ceremonies because they involved wine and intoxication. With characteristic elasticity, the Papago merely attended the ceremony in another village when pressure on their own community became too severe. Such efforts on the part of the government were abandoned in 1933, when it was conceded that Indians, like other citizens, have a right to religious freedom. Presbyterian missionaries have tried to stop the "heathen rites" by forbidding their converts to attend, and within their own territory they have been fairly successful. The approach of the Roman Catholics has been quite different; they have worked slowly, trying first to eliminate from native belief what they felt to be contrary to their fundamental creed and then, with time and a good deal of sympathy and understanding, seeking to bring the people to more orthodox faith and practice. 771 609 797

Despite the fact that for a decade white interference has been very limited, much of the old religion has disappeared. In most parts of the Reservation people say that the old men who know the ancient ceremonies are dying off and that no one else has learned how to conduct them, and they bemoan the consequent disasters. This applies, however, chiefly to the ceremonials in which many participated. The rites of the medicine man and singers, which do not require a group, apparently flourish everywhere on the Reservation, though Papago fear that these may die off, too.

Papago ceremonial life seems to be mainly concerned with two things: rain and health. Though many of the old practices have disappeared, the emphasis on these two all-important areas continues.

BRINGING RAIN

Many Papago songs—secular as well as religious—mention the importance of rain, and everyone takes care to do the proper things to bring rain. (For example, when the cactus fruit is picked, its shell must be left on the ground with the inside exposed.) Though the medicine men's principal function is to diagnose the cause of illness, they also look for the cause when rain does not come. During the severe drought of 1943, medicine men from all parts of the Reservation met to inquire into the causes; one of the reasons appeared to them to be the killing of horses in the dourine epidemic. 789

Most of the old Papago ceremonials are in one way or another connected with bringing rain, even though the primary purpose may be different. The annual treks to the Gulf of California in the old days were made to get salt,

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter VII

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

773 ONE of the Papago myths accounts for the division of mankind into races. A long time ago, after the Papago had emerged from the underworld, they were plagued by an eagle who killed people and carried them off to his aerie. No man was able to kill the eagle, and at last the Papago called upon their hero I'itoi for help. When I'itoi had conquered the vicious bird, he began to revive the corpses of the victims. Those who had been dead the longest and were most decayed and pallid he turned into white people. Because they had been dead too long to remember anything, I'itoi gave them the power of writing, so that they could put things down to help their memories. From corpses who were better preserved and came up kicking, he made the Apache, who always gave the first blow in battles but in the end were conquered. The Papago came up fighting, but they always finally won. Other Indian tribes were created in similar fashion (there seems to be doubt as to the origin of Mexicans and Negroes). This story, the Papago say, proves that all men are of the same race as the Papago, but they themselves are "the people." The center of the universe is the sacred mountain, Baboquivari. Papago medicine men are superior because they have greater power than other people. The Desert People themselves are superior because they have made a living from the desert as no one else has been able to do.

186 It is interesting to note that the Papago, though modest and retiring as individuals, reveal in their tradition the ethnocentricity characteristic of most peoples. They also have their stereotypes for outsiders. In this chapter we shall discuss the Papago's relations with, and attitudes toward, other groups.

OTHER INDIANS

609 For years the Papago have had close contacts with the Pima of the Salt and Gila River reservations, most recently through work in the cotton fields and truck farms owned by Pima. These people are considered by the Papago to

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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be much like themselves except for the fact that, through years of schooling and other contacts with white men, the Pima have become less Indian. But the Papago do not regard the change taking place in the Pima with envy or admiration; rather they think of it as an unfortunate weakness, a mistake on the part of their northern kinsmen. Furthermore, they call the Pima lazy. Still, the Papago do not look upon marriages between their own young people and Pima with great disfavor, and many Papago today acknowledge Pima blood and visit relatives on the Pima reservations. 609

Yaqui Indians frequently work with Papago in the cotton fields and mines. These people the Papago also designate as fellow-Indians, but farther removed from themselves than the Pima, and, though there are occasional Yaqui-Papago marriages, they are not generally approved. However, the Yaqui are admired for their dancing, and the Desert People never tire of watching the Yaqui *pascola* dancers perform.

The Papago know other Indians too. The Apache (called in Papago "The Enemy") are thought of as mean and cruel, albeit brave and successful fighters. Tribes who live farther away are becoming known to the younger Papago in off-Reservation boarding schools, and a number of marriages between Papago and other tribes—such as Hopi, Navaho, Mohave—have resulted from school romances. In such marriages a Papago boy usually brings his bride to his own village, but a girl goes with her husband to his tribe. But the Desert People do not think of intertribal marriages as the ideal, and no more than ten years ago one Papago pair forbade their daughter to marry outside the tribe because "it is not allowed." Now, however, newcomers take their place in the family without criticism. [582]

MEXICANS

Mexicans[1] are known to the Papago as "Smarties" (*chuchkam*), and relations between the two groups vary. At present Mexicans living in the United States and the American Papago usually meet on friendly terms. Several factors tend to draw them together: in the towns both groups do the same kind of low-paid work; they are equally discriminated against by the white Americans, who frequently cannot tell them apart; and they often have a common religion in Catholicism. A Papago will trade at a Mexican store in preference to an American. When he is working in a town, he will live either with his tribesmen in "Papago Town" or with Mexicans (and perhaps lower-class white Americans). Papago in Tucson live in the "Barrio Libre" along with Mexicans and Yaqui.

1. For use of the term "Mexican" in this study see the Introduction, p. xiii.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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For the Papago a Mexican has one transcendant virtue: he can buy liquor legally, as the Indian cannot do. A Mexican is usually willing to resell it to a Papago at a neat profit and then, at times, when the Papago is drunk, to relieve him of the rest of his money. In any trade relation Mexicans rarely hesitate to take advantage of the Papago, who as a rule are less experienced in money matters. The Papago are aware that the "Smarties" bear watching, and their resentment sometimes breaks out in street fights. For the most part, however, the Papago accept exploitation docilely in order to insure their liquor supply. Furthermore, the Mexican coats the pill with ostentatious familiarity and superficial fraternity.

That the liquor trade is the chief link between the two groups seems apparent from the fact that there are few friendships between individuals and little real social intercourse. The occasional Mexican who works at the Agency is ignored by the Papago; however, this may be due in part to the Mexican's own feeling of superiority. Mixed marriages are frowned upon, and Indians known to have or suspected of having Mexican blood are looked down upon by full-blood Papago.

TRADERS ON THE RESERVATION

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Outside of Sells, the Agency town, the trader may be the only white person living in a Papago village, and his contacts with the Indians may be so intimate that he becomes the chief representative of white culture. Nowadays, with more schools in the remote areas and more visits from government officials, other white contacts on the Reservation are less infrequent, but the trader is still a main channel of white culture.

The influence of the trader and the Indians' attitude toward him vary, of course, with his personality and with the local situation. One of the two white traders in the western districts is a woman who speaks Papago and has sympathy and understanding for Papago ways. She gives the children candy, attends fiestas, and contributes generously to the feasts. In addition, she renders a variety of social services, such as translating and writing letters and driving to bring a medicine man. A trip to her trading post is likely to be an all-day outing, for the Indians come not only to buy but to consult the trader and to ask for her help. They select and pay for their purchases one by one, jokingly haggling over the price of each article. The western people respect as well as like this trader because she allows no one to take advantage of her and stands her ground in conflicting issues; she rents her car at the same rates as Papago owners; and, by keeping informed of cattle sales, she sees that bills are paid when possible. All the Hickiwan Papago are loyal to her and trade with her in preference to any other white on the Reservation.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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872 tremely shy with her in the beginning, staring soberly at her when addressed, sitting at his desk without moving, and following the example of others when response is expected of him. He resents any physical contact with the teacher and shrinks away if she leans over to help him or puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. In a fairly short time, however, his shyness decreases; he talks in Papago to the other children in front of the teacher, speaks up when reciting, and sometimes even begs to be "next." When the child relaxes into the fun-loving little person he ordinarily is, he frequently becomes noisy and has to be asked to be quiet. He does so, momentarily at least, and takes the rebuke as a matter of course. Ordinarily he minds the teacher rather well. Little girls spend a good deal of their free time with the teacher, watching her every move with curiosity, trying to talk with her, and always beaming at any attention.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH

753 Long before he is five years old, the Papago child knows and fears sickness.[7]
857 He has already learned that contacts with animals and with ghosts appearing in animal form may make him ill. Now he is taught that his own bad thoughts may also bring sickness (see chap. vi), and he has also learned to fear the power of the "bad" medicine man or witch.

755 In time of illness attributed to any of these causes, the child has implicit faith
957 in the "good" medicine man, for the shaman is often someone he knows or even a relative. The youngster has no fear of him, although he does stand in some awe of the medicine man's power to communicate with the terrifying animals and ghosts. During this age period the shaman does not perform over the child any rite similar to the birth or puberty ceremonies, but he becomes a familiar and trusted figure.

857 To the school doctor and nurse, however, the child's reaction is very differ-
759 ent. When he undergoes a physical examination at school each year, he is
609 liable to be very frightened; he does not like to be touched by the white medicine man, and he resents being even partially disrobed. The teacher knows this and tries to fortify him while he is being examined. After several visits of the doctor or nurse,[8] the youngster becomes somewhat accustomed to them and, if not undressed, will submit to examination with no show of nervousness except extreme quiet. He will allow external medicines to be used on him and will take cough syrup, and sometimes he asks the teacher to clean or bandage a sore or cut.

7. For discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.

8. Doctors come to the school once a month, nurses semimonthly.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

THE CHILD AND THE CHURCH

The Papago child of five to ten participates in church services chiefly as a listener. Among both Sonora and Roman Catholics, small children carry candles and *santos* in the religious processions which precede the dancing at fiestas, but this requires no special training.

Sonora Catholic children accompany the older women of the household to the church when they go once a week to burn candles, sing, and pray, but the youngsters play outside the church most of the time and come in only occasionally to listen or to sleep. Little girls try to sing the Spanish hymns, and frequently they have learned a few by the time they are ten years old. The boys come to the church less often as they grow older, and they seldom learn hymns.

Roman Catholic children in the western districts see a priest only once or twice a year, when he comes to say Mass and to proselytize. Since the missionary wishes to establish good relations in order to facilitate his work, he is friendly and informal with both children and adults; he may even help the family harvest a crop or do some other farm work. Between his visits, the Roman Catholics of Hickiwan District conduct their own services in the same manner as their Sonora Catholic neighbors, and the children have the same unimportant roles.

In the eastern districts, where there are Roman Catholic churches and priests to conduct services regularly, children go to Mass with their parents. When they are about nine or ten, they begin going to confession. A few youngsters serve as altar boys and spend a good deal of time in services or instruction. Priests maintain a rather formal relationship with their parishioners, and children seldom are on familiar terms with them; the sisters teaching in the mission schools are also rather distant in their attitude toward the children.

Children of Presbyterian families go with the adults to church. Although taking no part in the service, they sit quietly and appear attentive to the preacher. They like to go with their families to the annual camp meeting at Sells, where they can be with other children and enjoy the music and emotional fervor of the revival.

THE CHILD'S HORIZON WIDENS

When the child is between five and ten, his horizon widens greatly. If he goes to school, he meets children from other villages, and at the fiestas he sees relatives of all ages who live in near-by communities. Since the western villages are smaller and fewer and fiestas draw crowds from greater distances than in the East, the western child comes to know (if only by sight) nearly

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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857 574 609 every person in six or eight villages by the time he is ten. Intervillage visiting is not quite so commonplace in the East. Hence, although every Baboquivari child has relatives in nearly every village in the district, he may see some of them rarely or not at all. In both East and West a family with a car will occasionally visit villages a long way from their own.

857 609 During this age period the child probably has his first meaningful contacts with white people. Children in western Hickiwan meet the white tradeswoman when they are still very young; since she speaks Papago and hands out treats to the children, they enjoy visits to her store.

Government employees other than teachers, doctors, and nurses are seldom seen by children of this age in the western districts. Because the villages are so remote and for years many westerners showed great antipathy to government policies, Agency representatives went to Hickiwan and Gu Vo very rarely. In recent years the situation has been changing, but official visits are still few. To western children the coming of the white men from Sells is a novel and exciting event, but youngsters who formerly fled indoors to peer out at the visitors with awe and some fear now slip outside the house to stare with avid curiosity.

On the other hand, in Baboquivari and Sells districts, Agency cars and trucks are an inevitable part of the landscape, children see government employees almost every day, and tribal council debates and court proceedings are common gossip. All the children have been in the town of Sells many times and have some understanding of the Agency as the center of Reservation activities. The visit of an official to an eastern home is almost as exciting as it is in Hickiwan or Gu Vo, but it causes much less apprehension.

The white people whom Papago children meet on the Reservation are almost all adults. In Sells the children of white government employees go to the public school, which is part of the Arizona county school system, and they do not play much with Indian children. However, Papago children are friendly to the white child they meet on their own ground. At Hickiwan Village in 1942–43 the teacher's eight-year-old son attended the Indian day school. He was easily accepted into the play group of lads his own age, and some who lived near by often came to see him after school. The two-year-old son of a field worker for this study lived with an Indian family, spent most of his play time with Papago children, and spoke more of their language than his own.

When the Papago child goes off the Reservation with his family to work, he meets people of other races and nationalities.[9] His contacts with them are casual and largely impersonal, but they leave a lasting impression. If his family goes to the Salt River Valley cotton fields or truck farms, he associates with

9. The relations of adult Papago to other ethnic groups are discussed in chap. vii.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Pima Indians; he may be related to some of them. Yaqui Indians, with whom Papago do not mingle so freely, also work there. The child may see Negroes working in the fields or perhaps colored troops stationed near Ajo, but the Papago consider "the black ones" social inferiors and do not associate with them.

Mexicans are encountered in many towns near the Reservation. They live near or among Papago who are working in town, and the child may be taken into Mexican stores. But the average Papago child's most memorable contacts with Mexicans occur on the annual pilgrimage to the church of San Francisco in Magdalena. The two-hundred-and-fifty-mile trip is the longest which many Papago children ever make, and they enjoy it to the utmost. The days of preparation are busy ones for the child, who runs many errands and keeps the babies out of the way of hard-working adults. On the way the family may pass through Sells and Tucson and perhaps have a little time to look into the stores. Magdalena itself is a paradise for the child. The booths with their bright clothes, strange foods, and fascinating knickknacks, the crowds in the plazas, the music in the bars and streets—all fascinate him. The blessing received by kissing the statue of St. Francis, he is taught to believe, is worth the long wait in the crowded cathedral, for it is his most powerful safeguard of good health throughout the coming year.

More frequent are trips to towns near the Reservation. Children from the eastern districts go infrequently to Tucson, and all the children from the western villages studied have been in Ajo many times. Nearly all the westerners and many from the East visit the homes of relatives working at the Ajo copper mine. In town Papago children love to go to the movies and buy comic magazines, even though they do not understand English. They spend a few cents for candy and stand about the streets watching all the people, particularly the strange whites. As at the fiestas, little girls stay close to the women, but boys run about by themselves.

For years, school children of the western districts have gone to the municipal Christmas Eve celebration in Ajo. They travel in the school bus and on arrival run about the town square. A uniformed band plays near the huge decorated trees in the park; there is a parade, with Santa Claus in a sleigh, and treats of candy and fruit for everyone. The youngsters enjoy it all, but they usually skip the parade and other preliminaries to establish themselves in line to receive candy. They are not shy and will push as hard as Mexican or white children to get to the front and enter the line a second or third time to get more candy. It does not occur to them that this might be unsportsman-like; the candy is being given away, and the youngsters assume that they are welcome to all they can eat. To them this is a whiteman's fiesta, and at a fiesta the host always says, "Come in and eat; eat all you want." They do.

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rested, though at an inconceivably late hour for that country, for the sun had been nearly half an hour above the horizon. The men had gone to plough the fields, but lots of women and girls and a few young men had gathered waiting for me to get up. They had brought many objects, which they understood I wanted to buy. As soon as I opened my eyes two kinds of the medicine-man's rasping outfits, women's games, a splendid bull-roarer (see page 95), and other tempting things were presented for my approval.

The attitude of the natives was an unlooked-for delight. With the exception of the men who were unavoidably absent, the remainder of the four or five families that made up the rancheria seated themselves around me, showing much interest in my presence and eager to sell what they had brought. I distributed candy to every one, and much enthusiasm was evinced, the utmost good-will prevailing. Two elderly sisters, talkative and impulsive, were very intelligent in giving explanations of the articles offered for sale. One of them sat down on the ground and showed me how the medicine-man's rasping-sticks were used, at the same time rendering the appropriate song. The other one, seizing a pair of wooden tweezers, which are used in pulling off certain edible cactus fruit, proceeded in a most graphic manner to demonstrate how the spines are rubbed off by the same implement, whereupon the fruit is placed in a basket and taken home to be cooked. Her quiet pantomime, full of humor, made matters clear beyond doubt unto the smallest detail, without her uttering a single word. She would

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have done credit to any stage. It was a busy morning, and when the crowd saw us getting ready to eat our belated breakfast, they considerately said, "Let us retire that they may eat." Pablo and I seated ourselves near the fire, and it was a small matter that the rice had been burned during the activities of the morning.

After a while, we had them all back again. The implements used in a woman's game were offered for sale. They comprised a small object, consisting of two short, thick sticks from the cat-claw tree, linked together in the middle by a twisted leather string. This *óla*, as they call it, has to be thrown with a thin pole, slightly curved at the point, and the movement must be made by applying the point between the two connecting sticks and then casting it upward. The game consists in throwing the object so as to reach a certain goal, the opposing party trying to prevent it. At my request, the woman with the imitative gift induced four young girls to show me how the game was played, and they immediately prepared for the fray. The colored bandannas were disengaged from around the head and tied around the hips. The uncovering disclosed beautiful black hair, well-groomed *à la méxicaine*, parted in the middle, and hanging in two generous braids down the back. The next minute they all spat in their hands and smoothed their hair, then the game started. The girls played two against two. The óla was first thrown up in the air, the players standing ready opposite each other. The tactics of the opponents was to run with their backs turned against the others and strike the disputed ob-

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ject with their poles. Each game was played with much agility and lasted only a few minutes, the participants keenly enjoying the sport. Formerly as many as twenty women on each side took part in this game.

I ventured to take snapshots and, strange to relate, it was not resented. A boy showed me how to swing a bull-roarer, and we all had a good time. Though the wearing apparel of these people and most of their utensils came from the white man's store, still, neither English nor Spanish was spoken, only Papago. They behaved something like natives who have not been much in contact with whites, and these "poor heathen" were the nicest Papagoes I met on my whole expedition. The entertaining crowd would sometimes retire as one man, then after a while they would return again; they were curious without being troublesome. One of the humorous sisters told me that in the rancheria of Santa Rosa, which was my next goal, there was much to be seen that would interest me, if I made friends with the principal men. She also had a house there, she said, which was at our disposal, and she gave us directions as to how to find it, for Santa Rosa was a big place.

It is, in fact, the largest summer rancheria in the Papago tribe, and people from several clusters of winter habitations gather here to the number of about five hundred. The houses are scattered over an area of nearly two miles square. Its native name is Kuátshi (Big Peak). I entered this old-fashioned rancheria with much expectancy of gaining further knowledge of the beliefs and customs of these people. Water from the

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ordinary weather the inhabitants of one place can hear the singing of those at the other on festive occasions. The days were warm now, hardly any day registering less than 100° F. in the shade, often more. But climatic conditions matter less than the attitude of the people one meets, and here there was an unexpected charm of simplicity and unobtrusive inquisitiveness which reminded me of former happy occasions in my life among natives. A sahuaro feast had been concluded the day before. People from the surrounding country were still lingering and my arrival furnished an excuse for an additional delay. Crowds of people, fifty or more, kept around me wherever I went.

The Papagoes in the Santa Rosa valley are less spoiled by contact with civilization than in any other part of their country. From my note-book at this time I take the following remarks: "I have never yet met with a cross Papago; they are always amiable. In my quest for specimens they smilingly admit me to their store-rooms to inspect their fine granary baskets and other kinds of baskets and utensils, and allow me to look around inside and outside of the houses as much as I like. On the other hand, they have no tact; they seat themselves unconcernedly in a folding easy chair of mine, or go to the box in which I keep my collections and take out all the things to look at. They are always on hand at meal-times; they dive with delight into the box of crackers set before them, and are very fond of coffee."

They were rather a crude type, but pleasant to deal with, and were continually bringing things for me to buy.

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312 There should be no great difficulty in making dams, and still less in sinking artesian wells. I was told of a very convenient place for a large dam in the low range north of Temporales, near the boundary line, three or four miles away. This valley averages eight or ten miles in width; a few miles east of Sonoita low mountains draw it together, but below that settlement it widens again. Only the middle part, at a width of one or two miles, probably more at certain places, is serviceable. There may be found a few sandy patches in certain localities, but, taking it all in all, this extensive stretch of tillable soil would be well worth investigating by people interested in agricultural pursuits, and one may expect at no distant date the reclamation of what is now practically a wilderness.

317 At the first Indian rancheria which we passed here, we found that some of the inhabitants had just returned from a salt expedition to the Salina de San Jorge on the Gulf. There were four full loads of salt lying scattered outside of one of the houses. The salt had been placed [492] in discarded flour sacks, two being carried inside of a packing bag of mescal fibre, which is slung over the back of the animal and constitutes a load. Coarse grass is wrapped around each sack for protection, and the bag when in use rests on two rolls of grass, which serve the Papago as pack or riding-saddle, as the case may be.

361 This summer rancheria as well as the next, called [312] Represa de Enrique, is quite populous. At the latter place the Indians possess a large dam. Our arrival ● C09 caused much excitement at first, due to a misapprehen-

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609 sion, the Indians taking us to be *celadores* or mounted inspectors from the Sasabe custom-house, who at uncertain and mostly long intervals make tours along the border line. There are two hundred miles from Sasabe to the Colorado River, but the inspectors seldom or never go beyond Sonoita. The Indians seemed relieved at being correctly informed and were kind and gentle. [191] They no doubt understand Spanish, but if spoken to would answer only in Papago. Two kinds of small [136] wading birds were noticed at the dam and in the morning up to noon the coyotes would fearlessly come to drink. Some Mexican cowboys passing by lassoed one and then let it go again.

241 On the day of our departure we passed one of the fine fields which the Papagoes have here. The maize had been stored away, but two huge heaps of squashes were piled on the field; near one of them sat two women, cutting them up into long ribbons. When nearly dry these are folded up in convenient bundles and kept for winter use. There was only one small jacal in the middle of this field of plenty, and thither I directed my steps to buy some watermelons. Here also was a woman mak- 241 ing squash ribbons, great numbers of which were hang- 251 ing, festoon-like, to dry from the branches of a tree outside.

261 All these women came from other parts of the country 476 and were preparing to take away as much as they wished in accordance with the ancient custom which prevails at harvest time of those who have sharing with those who are less fortunate. If a Papago is known to have been

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Children played under mother's watchful eye . . . in the forest of cotton stalks . . .

or alone at the edge of the field . . .

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with Anglo, Mexican-American (and Negro) children . . .

or alone in the camp.